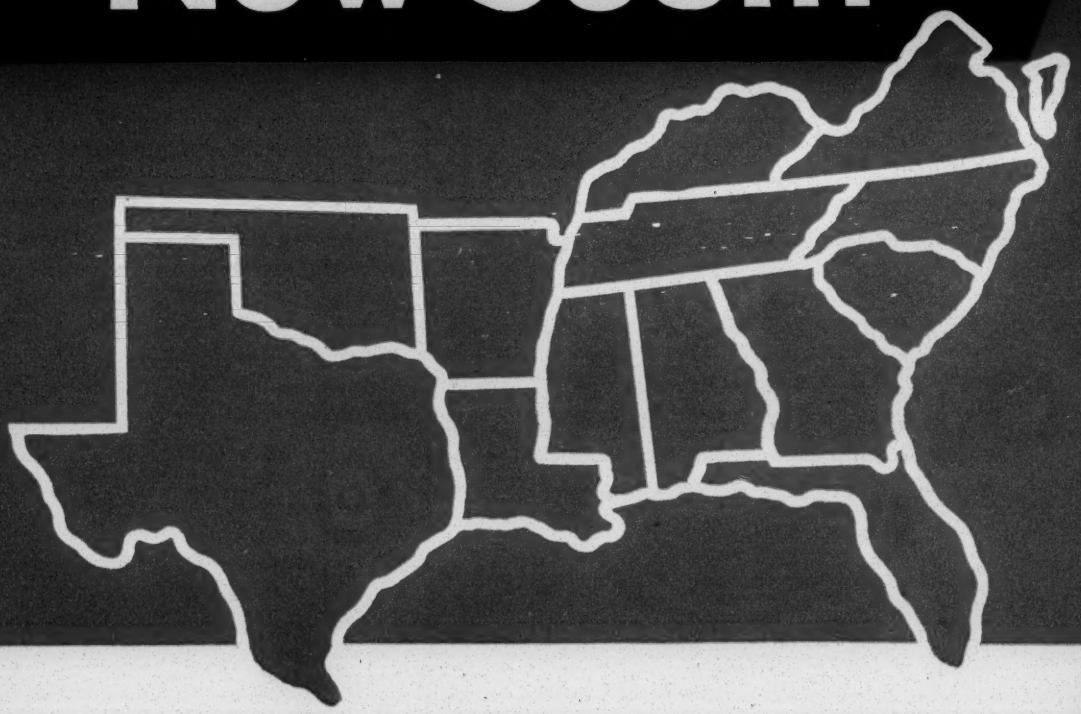
New South



- **Arkansans Organize for Public Schools**
  Nat Griswold
- **Chamber of Commerce Seeks Open Schools**
- **The Southern Temper**
- **Highlights from Recent Literature**

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New South

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New South Notes

In September, 1958, four high schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, were not reopened for the new term on orders from Governor Faubus. Since then, Little Rock citizens have been in a state of turmoil with, at first, little likelihood of saving public education. But sentiment in the city in favor of continued public schooling began to grow, and now a strong movement to resume public schools is evident in Little Rock. Nat Griswold, Executive Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, has followed closely the developments in the school crisis in his city and state. Here, in NEW SOUTH, Mr. Griswold documents the growth of the movement to reopen public schools.

In keeping with the lead article, NEW SOUTH reprints an advertisement by the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce which appealed for public support for reopening the closed Little Rock schools. The Chamber of Commerce outlines its previous stand in the desegregation controversy and ends with an appeal for support for renewal of educational opportunities for the children of the city.

William Peters, in his book THE SOUTHERN TEMPER, documents the story of the growing liberal and moderate forces in the South who are working for desegregation and/or public schools. In this issue of NEW SOUTH, Mrs. Montez Albright, a member of the research staff of the Southern Regional Council, reviews Mr. Peters' book.

Rounding out this issue of NEW SOUTH is an additional feature, "Highlights from Recent Literature," which reviews current publications of interest.

Arkansans Organize For Public Schools

By NAT GRISWOLD

Executive Director

Arkansas Council

on

Human Relations

In the Spring of 1955, we were told of a "great" speech being repeated by Harry Ashmore, editor of the *Arkansas Garzette*. In it he delineated two prongs of the problem in the South with reference to its public schools. First, the ruling of the Supreme Court in May, 1954, against racially segregated schools required specific but not impossible changes in the schools. Second, irrational resistance to these changes could destroy the free public schools. Not many heard the speech. (Mr. Ashmore received a steadily diminishing number of invitations to speak!) The essential truth of his analysis was disbelieved if it were comprehended. Only recent eloquent events in Arkansas, Little Rock's closed high schools, effectively have convinced people of the reality of the dilemma disclosed by the editor. Now Arkansans act as if they believe the schools must be saved.

Four years after Mr. Ashmore's warnings, in the summer of 1958 the voters of Arkansas reelected Governor Faubus to a third term, the second man in history so honored. They believed him when he said no school would be desegregated against the will of the people during his administration. "Ignorance and hysteria" was the reaction of Harry S. Truman to this election.

"He is exactly right," agreed Mrs. D. D. Terry, resident of the distinctive antebellum home near the center of Little Rock, proud of her "southern heritage" and devoted to it. "Ignorance

and hysteria," lack of knowledge and misinterpreted facts was the foundation for the Little Rock crisis. On this diagnosis she began to assemble facts about an earlier organization of Southern women who had by education and action helped reduce lynchings before Congress could enact a law. Here in Arkansas the women must "educate" against ignorance and hysteria, she believed.

By the time she called a meeting of women in her home, September 16, 1958, the Governor, using powers given by a special session of the state legislature in August, had closed Little Rock's four high schools shutting out 3,500 students. He had called for a vote by the electors in Little Rock for "integration of all schools" in the district or "segregation of all the schools." More than fifty women of social importance came to this meeting and completed an organization, The Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, with functioning committees. It was focussed immediately on the vote for the schools, September 27.

Platform

The organization has operated since from the platform: "get the four free public high schools open, get students back in their classes, retain our staff of good teachers, regain full accreditation by North Central Association; we stand neither for integration nor for segregation, but for education; it is our hope to say to the world that there are many of us here who care enough to do something about this problem."

The latter assertion was part of a letter from the organization and enclosed by members with Christmas cards sent across the nation. "Many of us" came to mean 1,400 women associated with the group. The Executive Committee meets weekly. They operate an office with voluntary workers. They have run advertisements, organized TV programs, at one time made weekly mailings to some 5,000 persons, interviewed group leaders and government officials. The persistence of their committees "waiting on legislators" led the husband of a member to admit, "I feel sorry for the legislators!" They openly joined real issues—something new in Little Rock.

Moderates

The association in this Women's Committee was foreshadowed by a dinner on June 3, 1958, honoring the *Arkansas Gazette* and its editor, Pulitzer Prize winners. The initiators and sponsoring committee included Mrs. Joe E. Brewer, who became the first president of the Women's Emergency Committee, and Mrs. David D. Terry. More than a thousand persons bought tickets to the dinner, an act implying in some measure an endorsement of the position of "moderates" on the school issue. The public expression was interpreted by many as a real catharsis for frustrations and silent fears which possessed the community.

"Many of us who care" came also to include other individuals and groups who have acted toward "saving the schools of Little Rock" and Arkansas.

On September 22, in a paid advertisement 63 lawyers declared their interest "in preserving public education." They dissented as to the legality of

operating the present schools as private schools with public funds as promised by the Governor and stated the issue as "a limited integrated school system" or "no public school system." They urged citizens to join them "to preserve free public education" in the vote of September 27.

Fifty-five doctors, in the General Election pitting Democratic nominee Congressman Brooks Hays, against "Independent Democrat" Dale Alford, in an ad November 3 appealed to voters to support Mr. Hays.

In its annual convention November 5-7, 1958, the Arkansas Educational Association adopted a resolution affirming its faith in free public schools and its dedication to their preservation. This action resulted in castigation of the teachers' organization by members of the Arkansas Legislative Council, leading legislators. The teachers did not retract their resolution but did remain silent from then until April, 1959.

School Election

Not until the annual school election in December, 1958, did these new moves to save schools show effective results. On September 27, the electors voted 3 to 1 to keep segregated (closed) schools; and on November 4, Alford, with a paste-in vote, defeated incumbent Brooks Hays by some 1,200 votes.

On December 6 after the most vicious campaign, in which the Governor put his weight behind the "segregationists," the gathering forces to open the schools succeeded in naming three of their five candidate to the Little Rock School Board. Since the one unopposed candidate was a choice of Dr. Alford, this election resulted in an evenly divided Board, three with the Governor and die-hard segregationists, and three with the forces to open the schools. In the light of recent developments, this divided Board has real significance.

Chamber of Commerce

The President and the Secretary of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce early in January indicated in public addresses that they believe it the business of the Chamber to deal with the school problems. On January 26, 1959, the Directors of this organization unanimously "approved as a major project the following: To the end that the solution of Little Rock's public school problem may be found at the earliest possible time: (1) encourage a climate of communication through which all citizens can discuss the problem with understanding and respect for one another; (2) press for culmination of whatever legal and/or legislative matters that have to be resolved by the responsible local, state and federal bodies."

On February 23 the Board of the Chamber polled the members on two questions: (1) Do you favor continued closed high schools? (2) Do you favor opening schools with "controlled plan of integration?" Negative votes on No. 1 were 632, affirmative 230; affirmative on No. 2 were 819, negative 245.

On March 25, the President of the Chamber of Commerce in a paid advertisement published the recommendations to the Directors. Among these was "the reopening of the Little Rock Public High Schools by using a pupil assignment system acceptable to the School Board and the federal courts."

Arkansans

(Continued)

Also recommended was the prompt renewal of contracts of all teachers.

The American Association of University Women in January polled business men on the effect of the school crisis on their business. The report of the poll was given in terms of individual testimony of representatives of various businesses. The preponderance of testimony was that unsettled school conditions were hurting business.

The state legislators in regular session in 1959, although under the spell of the Governor's overwhelming third-term victory, showed the definite inclination to revolt on legislation which threatened the free public school system. They defeated the Governor's strong effort to enact a "Board-packing" measure under which he could have named three additional members to the Little Rock Board. The Senators and most of the Representatives of Pulaski County voted against the Governor's wishes.

Teachers

On February 28, while the legislature was still in session, the three "moderate" members of the School Board issued a statement in regard to opening the schools. It was a carefully argued position that the schools could be opened and operated as free public institutions only if they were desegregated under court supervision. This position they consistently maintain.

Added to the rising power of resistance to dismantling the schools has been the strong reaction of teachers to certain control measures set up by the Governor and Legislature, notably Act 10 and Act 115. The first requires all school boards to secure from teachers affidavits listing *all* organizations to which they have belonged or contributed for the last five years; the second makes it illegal to pay state funds to any person who is a member of the NAACP, "the captive of the international Communist conspiracy."

Protests

At contract time for school teachers in Little Rock, in Fayetteville, in the University Medical Center, in Russellville, in Monticello, open protests of these requirements were heard. Plans for suits against the laws were reported. The Acts were interpreted by the *Arkansas Gazette* as another step toward making the teacher's profession in Arkansas "intolerable." The threat involved to stable school staffs became the concern of administrators. The Dean of the Liberal Arts College at the University before a Phi Beta Kappa dinner likened developments under Act 10 to the McCarthy era. This disturbed situation, which continues, is an important part of the increasing power of forces committed to preservation of the integrity of public schools.

Under Act 5, the State Board of Education from November, 1958, has withheld state funds from the Little Rock School District and was paying them to other state school districts and accredited private schools for tuition of Little Rock students in these schools. Ninety-one thousand dollars of one-half million so withheld had been disbursed when legal action by the NAACP in January secured an injunction against such use of state funds ordinarily allotted to Little Rock. Thus a half million will be saved from such misuse.

The Arkansas Teachers Association (AT) and the City Teachers Association (both groups of Negro teachers) not only became disturbed about enforcement of Act 10 and Act 115 in Little Rock; they took legal action. Through very astute planning their attorneys secured court injunction against enforcement of both Acts. The action was made "class" action thus it at present saves teachers (colored and white) of public schools and higher institutions of learning from this indignity.

The various groups and individuals who through the year have joined to demonstrate their devotion to public education were multiplied and energized by certain current events.

On May 5, three members of the School Board, the hard-core segregationists, summarily fired 44 faculty members (colored and white) of Little Rock schools. This action came after the other three members had walked out rather than be a party to such action.

STOP

Five days later, 179 male community leaders of all vocations signed a strong protest of this "purge." Thus was brought into existence a new group for the release of pent-up energies, STOP (Stop This Outrageous Purge). Since this was simply a furious protest against "unjust," "unethical," "outrageous" treatment of devoted (and loved) teachers the organization avoided the slightest evidence of relation to the school desegregation problems. It was a white organization. The aroused Negro citizens graciously accepted these premises of STOP and organized STEP (Save This Educational Program). Hundreds not previously involved joined this snow-balling movement.

The move aimed at recall of the three "purgers," segregationist Board members, applying a law enacted for use by segregationists. Nine thousand signed a recall petition. Seven thousand signed a counter-petition against the other three members. On May 25 some 25,000 voters did recall the "purgers" by a substantial majority and approved the other three by a smaller majority.

Future

The vote to recall the three surely was a vote for the public schools and its teachers. The vote to retain the other three, by implication, was a vote to open the schools even if desegregated.

Today, certainly, more Arkansans see the real issue, the dilemma set forth clearly first by Harry Ashmore in 1954, legal accommodation of public schools to the court's orders or no public schools.

On May 28, apropos the election Mr. Ashmore cautiously declared, "The air is clearer today, and the future brighter . . . it can be concluded that a majority of the people will stand up and fight for the preservation of the public schols."

One hesitates to assay the strength of the movement in Little Rock and Arkansas to save the public schools. However, it is clear that the movement is decidedly stronger today than it was prior to the purging of school teachers on May 5. It is also clear that more people now see the central issue in preserving free public schools; that is, the schools must be entirely public, not exclusively for the use of any one particular class of citizens.

Chamber of Commerce Seeks Open Schools

From an Arkansas Gazette Advertisement

1. On January 26, 1959, the Board of Directors of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, by unanimous action, approved as a major project the following statement:

To the end that the solution to Little Rocks' Public School problem may be found at the earliest possible time:

a. Encourage a climate of communication through which all citizens can discuss the problem with understanding and respect for one another;

b. Press for the culmination of whatever legal and/or legislative matters that have to be resolved by the responsible local, state and Federal bodies.

2. On January 26, 1959, the Board of Directors of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, by unanimous action, voted to support the Little Rock School Board's request to the Federal Courts that the School Board be allowed to reopen the Little Rock High Schools on a SEGREGATED BASIS for the remainder of the school year; and in turn, the School Board would submit a new plan by August 15th.

This request was rejected by the Federal Courts.

3. On February 23, 1959, the Board of Directors of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, by unanimous action, voted to ask the general membership of the Chamber of Commerce to vote on two (2) questions:

The questions were:

a. Do you favor Little Rock's continuing with closed public high school?

b. Do you now favor the reopening of Little Rock public high schools on a controlled minimum plan of integration acceptable to the Federal Courts?

The vote on question number 1 was: Yes—230; No—632; Not voting—285.

The vote on question number 2 was: Yes—819; No—245; Not voting—83.

4. On March 2, 1959, the Board of Directors of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, by unanimous action, voted to request the Arkansas State Supreme Court to rule on the validity of Acts 4 and 5 at the earliest practicable date, because:

a. Until decisions were handed down the Little Rock School Board could not plan for the future use of School properties.

b. The School Board could possibly not be able to renew teacher contracts; and the high schools faced the loss of the teachers, which would severly harm the academic level of the schools.

c. Funds were being drained rapidly, to the point that standby operation and custody of the high schools was jeopardized; and reasonable recovery was not foreseen until the legality of the school closing laws was determined.

The two major responsibilities of a Chamber of Commerce to its membership and the people in the area it serves are:

1. Economic Development
2. Cultural Development

Education is a primary part of the cultural development of any city, and therefore, is a responsibility of a Chamber of Commerce.

These facts lead us to believe the following outlined policy is in the best interest of the City of Little Rock.

Before outlining the policy, certain actions and opinions should be reviewed in order to define the Board's opinion.

In our opinion, the State of Virginia has exhausted every possible legal method a state can attempt to get around United States Supreme Court decision and maintain a state-wide public school system. Also, this same Supreme Court clearly points out that no state can use evasion to avoid complying with the decision.

Unfortunately, Little Rock's choice narrows down to public schools operating under a pupil assignment system or, no public schools at all. The pupil assignment system has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

North Carolina's pupil assignment system has worked in controlling integration. At one time there were 14 Negroes in the white schools of North Carolina while only 11 are enrolled now. September will mark the third year of pupil assignment in North Carolina.

Plan

The State of Arkansas has a similar pupil assignment law that can be used by the Little Rock School Board.

It is impossible for all the people of Little Rock to agree on any one suggestion for ending the problem.

Based solely on the reason that we desire to seek a solution acceptable

Chamber

(Continued)

to a large majority of the people of Little Rock, the Board of Directors of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce favor:

1. The continuation and community support of high schools in Little Rock operating with private funds.
2. The reopening of the Little Rock Public High Schools by using a pupil assignment system acceptable to the School Board and the Federal Courts.
3. The School Board assuring all teachers that their contracts will be promptly renewed; in order that we do not lose valuable and loyal staff.
4. Accepting the responsibility to seek new laws in Congress that would return the operation of public schools to each individual school district; regardless of the outcome of our present school crisis.

Each of us, in reaching our personal decision, should remember that our country was founded, operates and receives its strength by living within the law. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, however much we dislike it, is the declared law and is binding upon us. . . . We must live and act now under the decision of that Court. We should not delude ourselves about that.

We respectfully urge all citizens to suport this outlined policy in order that all people's children will not suffer further lost educational opportunity and that Little Rock can continue to be a wonderful city in which to live, work and learn.

Two Southern governors differ on the effect of the school integration issue on industry.

Governor Faubus of Arkansas . . . said that the South's stand on integration has helped the flow of industry into the region. The *Associated Press* quoted him as saying the influx of industry in his state has continued undiminished despite the Little Rock school closings.

Governor Coleman of Mississippi, however, told the Mississippi Education Association that "if Mississippi had to abolish its schools to defeat integration, it would place a premium on knowledge and industry wouldn't come to the state if there were no public schools . . . "

Governor Faubus apparently had no basis for his contention. The *Arkansas Gazette* points out that Little Rock has not won a new industry since Governor Faubus closed down Central High School. That newspaper, discussing the state at large, says that in 1956 the total investment in new and expanded plants in Arkansas was $130,000,000; in 1957 it was $50,000,000, and by 1958 it had dropped to only $25,000,000 . . .

The problem facing Mississippi is a serious one. Governor Coleman says "the penalty for closing the public schools will not be inconvenience, but total ruin," and yet he declare integration is impossible. He at least refuses to delude his people with false optimism, though Governor Faubus does not hesitate to try it.—From an editorial in *The Chattanooga Times.*

The Southern Temper

Review by Montez Albright

Research Staff, Southern Regional Council

THE SOUTHERN TEMPER. By William Peters. 283 pp. New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc. $3.95.

The Southern Temper is an objective, comprehensive and astonishingly perceptive account of the present progress in the South toward desegregation. Mr. Peters writes in a lucid, readable style, introducing his facts logically and combining them with his own impressions and conclusions in a way that indicates thorough knowledge, competent research, and deep understanding of the many points of view prevalent in the South today.

He believes that the real battleground is the minds and hearts of white Southerners. He writes with compassion of the inner conflict and the agonies of soul-searching within the hearts and minds of the white Southerners; and also of the bitter realization of the Southern Negroes that their dreams and aspiration, almost within their grasp, may not be gained in time to benefit their children.

Mr. Peters names and analyzes the protagonists on this battleground: the raucous clamor of the resistance groups, becoming louder and more illogical; the increasingly effective "gentle voices" of the churchwomen; the "voices of reason" of Southern authors, newspaper editors and ministers; the organized efforts of the many groups concerned with human relations and civil liberties; the activities of the "new, young, vigorous and intelligent Negro leadership."

"What exists today throughout the South is a struggle for the minds of Southerners, or more particularly, for the convictions of the majority of whites in the middle. In this struggle the goal of the segregationists is now clear: to avoid being isolated into a minority either of numbers or of Southern states. The tactics being used to attain the goal are equally explicit: to fight the battle as far as possible from the Deep South States; to agitate wherever desegregation is threatened; to silence with threats, harassment, economic pressure and, if necessary, outright violence. And these tactics help to explain the outbreaks of violence which have, on occasion, accompanied the desegregation of Southern public schools."

With clarity and precision he cuts through the segregationists' smokescreen of vitriolic racism, bombastic oratory on "states rights and usurpation of legislative power by the Supreme Court" to the real issues: sex, economics and status.

With the words of other writers, almost all of them Southerners, Mr. Peters holds up a mirror of truth in which we can (if we dare to look) see our myths, our inconsistencies and our rationaliza-

Temper

(Continued)

tions for what they are. He points out, too, how much they cost us—in wasted manpower, in increased costs of construction, and in loss of business and industry.

Citing the success in integrating the personnel of the armed forces, completed without difficulty in less than five years, he points out the "almost total failure of the executive branches of the federal government to live up to its own directives" and gives many instances of its "daily giving aid and comfort to Southern segregationists in clear-cut defiance of its own widely proclaimed policies on non-discrimination."

The value of this book is best summed up by its dedication: "For all of the people—young and old, white and colored, North and South — who care enough about democracy to try to make it work."

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

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Rogers, William P. "PUBLIC OPINION AND CIVIL RIGHTS." Pamphlet based on an address delivered in December, 1958. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. 10 pp.

Attorney General Rogers replies to the argument that the *School* decision is an attempt at federal "interference" with the operation of local public school systems and concludes that no serious-minded person can doubt the permanence of the decision. The issue now is the manner and method of accommodation to it.

Among the grave consequences of attitudes of defiance:

They create an atmosphere in which extremists and fanatics are encouraged to take the law into their own hands.

Community tensions resulting from racial prejudices are not without economic implications. Private enterprise, in making new investments, will necessarily take into account the climate of local opinion and the public facilities that will be available to personnel, as will the government in determining the location of new or expanded federal facilities.

The international consequences of incidents which reflect prejudice are far reaching.

There is today a fuller understanding of the meaning of the *School* decision. What is of vital importance is the creation of an enlightened public opinion, a climate in which obstructionism will be seen for what it is—an exercise in futility. Neither law alone, nor education alone, can bring a solution. Each is indispensable to the effectiveness of the other in solving the problems created by discrimination.

Long, Herman H. "FELLOWSHIP FOR WHOM?" A Study of Racial Inclusiveness in Congregational Christian Churches. Order From Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee. Single copy, 50¢. 48 pp.

This report presents results of a self-examination, the purpose of which was to discover to what extent Congregational Christian Churches are implementing the "non-segregated church" portion of their stated objective: "a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society."

On the credit side of the findings:

(1) Over two-thirds of the local congregations participated in the survey; (2) gains in racial inclusiveness are indicated by the total of 26.6 per cent racially inclusive churches, as compared with an earlier 17.0 per cent; (3) in the opinion of ministers and lay leaders, well over half the congregations studied would support their pastors in carrying out a policy of racial inclusiveness.

Among the disheartening findings were those indicating that (1) the extent of "integration" in the churches compares unfavorably with accomplishments by other institutions; (2) in the opinion of a large number of lay officers, desegregation in the community would receive more support than would desegregation in the churches; the "Southern pattern" of limits on unconditional hospitality may also be the practice in the Midwest.

• • •

Harbutt, Charles. "THE CHURCH AND INTEGRATION." A Survey of Catholics' Response to the South's Most Pressing Problem. *Jubilee*, February, 1959. pp. 7-15.

Southern Catholics are asked to bear social responsibilities graver and more radical than they must anywhere else in the country. Their response to this demand is as varied and complex as are individuals. There is far less variation in the position of the Church itself, which has officially, though sometimes timidly and to little effect, committed itself to work for racial integration. Since it is intent on changing the hearts of the people, the church's procedures are humane, persausive and non-violent, to the point where it sometimes seems painfully over-considerate of the sensibilities of segregationists.

The first important steps toward solution of the racial dilemma were in the 1930's. However, support for racial equality which followed, in the form of Bishops' statements and edicts, missionaries' protests, individual lay involvement in integrationist causes, has been fragmentary and inconsistent. This fact is illustrated by the actual record of Catholic school integregation in the South: only half of the 12 colleges are even partially integrated and, with the exception of North Carolina, there are only two integrated parochial schools out of a total of 568 grammar schools and 177 high schools in the hard-core racist states.

Mr. Harbutt's article details some of the increasing tensions facing the church in the South and the signs of hope for ultimate integration.

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Goodman, Mary Ellen. "A PRIMER FOR PARENTS." Educating Our Children for Good Human Relations. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22. Pamphlet. 32 pp. 40¢ per single copy.

In our world, in which nations as well as individuals are inextricably tied

Highlights

(Continued)

to one another, we dare not allow our children to develop those primitive and savage impulses which drive the people who are violently prejudiced. Nor can we tolerate even passive conformity to customary prejudices and prejudiced actions.

The ideal in human relations is to choose one's associates on a person-to-person, not a group-to-group basis. Although we parents are not wholly responsible for the climate in which our children's attitudes grow, we can foster attitudes so strong that they will be highly resistant to the prejudice virus by which they are sure to be touched outside the home. It is our job to teach our children the facts about race and culture, as well as to create the proper "climate" for growth without prejudice. Even though we may be people of good will, we need to be wary of the "tender trap" of allowing sympathy for the feelings of a minority person in a majority dominated situation to get in the way of opportunity for association and acquaintance. Another danger is the "yes but . . . " trap in which we are caught when we do not practice our prejudice-free commitment in human relations.

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Jewish Labor Committee. LABOR LOOKS AT THE CRISIS IN CIVIL RIGHTS. Available from the Jewish Labor Committee, 25 East 78th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Single copy, 15¢. 33 pp. January, 1959.

Articles based on the major addresses delivered to the Third National Trade Union Conference on Civil Rights of the Jewish Labor Committee, May 29, 1958. Some highlights from each of the presentations:

Charles S. Zimmerman, "The Tasks Before Us." The problem of the Negro, the problem of integration in the South and the North, the continued evidence of anti-Semitism, the growth of anti-labor legislation, the need to fully re-establish freedom of speech—all are interrelated and all related to the struggle against totalitarianism in the world.

Averell Harriman, "America's Leadership in the Balance." If we are to lead the free nations in this historic struggle (against Kremlin-led Communism) on which our survival is based, we must recognize that our treatment of minorities at home is a vital test. For the common security of our people, we have a right to ask every person in the United States to abandon inherited prejudices.

William F. Schnitzler, "Our Goal is Equality." The American labor movement rates no other issue—not corruption nor recession nor international tension—as more important to us here in America than the problem of civil rights.

Boris Shishkin, "Labor's Program for Equality." The effectiveness of our leadership on the international scene depends on what we do in the case of the last janitor who has been denied promotion to the skill for which he is qualified. Wherever a man may be denied the opportunity to exercise his full rights or is denied access to the path of equal opportunity, it is there that labor must act.

Roy Wilkins, "Democracy in Danger." The greatest dangers we face are the waves of racial and religious bigotry, the attempts to set up fascist states within our states, the attempts to defy the federal government.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"There is jubilation in Little Rock. The hard rule of the racial extremists in school matters had been ended by the democratic process of voting their men out. . . . The victory for the moderates was complete. Their three School Board members triumphed over recall, and all three segregation members endorsed by Governor Faubus were recalled. . . . After almost two years of racial turmoil Little Rock can now hope for restoration of schools, peace and harmony."

John R. Newman, Editor
Harrison (Ark.) *Daily Times*

• • •

"We have a problem not of integration or segregation, but of disintegration of the public schools."

Mrs. T. H. Lyles
of Mountain Home, Arkansas,
In speech to AAUW
Quoted in *Arkansas Gazette*

• • •

"Ladies and gentlemen, we've got to straighten these churches out—and I mean any church. Let's organize laymen all over the South. Let's infiltrate the P-TA. Let's infiltrate all these organizations except the NAACP and the Urban League."

Robert B. Patterson, Executive, Secretary,
Association of Citizens' Councils of Miss.
Quoted in *New Orleans States and Item*

"The continued resistance to desegregation in both Little Rock, Ark., and Fort Royal, Va., is eroding the public school systems of these communities at an alarming rate. Children have been getting an inadequate education in makeshift private schools, superintendents and principals have resigned or have been fired and now teachers are preparing to leave in large numbers. . . . The price of obstructionism in the two communities may not be fully repaid for perhaps a generation unless reason soon prevails over blind emotionalism."

From an editorial
in the *Washington Post and Time Herald*

• • •

"By their vote in the School Board recall election . . . the people of Little Rock have taken a long step forward to place Arkansas in a more favorable light and return the state to the road of progress from which it has been diverted by the turmoil of the past two years."

The *Palmer* newspapers
of South Arkansas

• • •

"We just can't afford to abandon our public school system. It would be social suicide and it would be community suicide."

Rep. Gayle Windsor, Jr.
of Pulaski County, Arkansas,
Quoted in *Arkansas Gazette*